

361 jagged mountains rising all around the town.

[133] There are also two amazing, high, flat topped volcanic peaks. One is called Gunung Medja. The town stretches along the shore, with plenty of red and yellow flowering trees. There is a large impressive alun-alun [field, plaza] going down to the beach in the center. Behind this are a number of good houses. On the east side is the market and on the west side are good

[342] houses too. The houses are well constructed and there was evidently not much bombing here.

● [346] As usual, the high church is but a shell, as it was bombed, this time by the Australians.

485 I found that the town of Ende has practically nothing. There was no running water in the pasanggrahan except for a trickle in the morning.

[377] Electricity is weak and tends to break down.

443 The toko have very little in the way of merchandise. It is impossible to buy beer because the stores are out of it. The cigarettes from the distributie have all been used up and one now has to buy such items on the black market.

495 There is no gas pump, and I have to get gas at the V & W, which pours it out dirty from the tin. Because of this I have had trouble with the jeep for the first time. This is a real end-of-the-world-like place, although the appearance is

[132] rather nice. It is also extremely hot and humid, in fact it is the worst I have experienced yet. At midday it is like taking a Turkish bath here.

485 As usual, the pasanggrahan is not arranged for people who work or read. This is the Indonesian style.

634 The town of Ende is the only main town in the state. There is another state in the mountains, Lio, with a radja at Wolowaru. Then to the east is Sikka, with a radja, and east of that Larantuka, also with a radja. To the west of here is the Radja of Nageh Keo, and to the west of that the Radja of Ngada, at the capital

632 told me that his mother is from this area, and later I had her kampong pointed out (Lewoleda). It is the twin kampong of Watuwiti. As we passed every kampong the children came out in droves shouting greetings and then running after and hanging on the rear of the jeep, just as Vatter¹ described them almost twenty years ago. [178] Indeed, many things of his are still the same, but some are different, for example, Catholicism has finally destroyed the nubanara, nama, and the korke of Leloba.

346 At Wailolong we went off on a new side road
797 to Leloba, and the road ended at the kampong,
583 barred by a fence. As we were talking here, a
438 priest, Krol, came up on his motorcycle and invited us to his hut. He is temporarily here because the church and pastorie in Riangkami⁸ was burned two months ago. The people there caused the fire by burning the hills on the windward side, and the kampong elders voted to give a percentage of the bride prices for quite a long while in order that they might have the new church. This will be paid in elephant tusks, [435] which the mission will sell for cash to the Mohammedan traders (eight tusks of varying lengths will sell for about fl. 2000.00, and the priest knew the exact price). The Mohammedan traders will then resell the tusks to the people in Larantuka who need them to pay a bride price. They will probably sell them in the Tandjung Bunga (Cape Flores area).

797 The priest told how the Catholics work here.
197 They try to keep as much of the old culture as
177 possible. For example, he and others are learning all about the Solor language, which is the local language here, so that they can make prayers in it. They also make prayers in the old style, as though praying to Lerawulan. They 797 use native songs with words in the native lan-
177 guage and in the native style, too. He, musical,
533

! [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

000 notable.

797 The church in Riangkami is built with refer-
177 ence to the four ritual sibs of Kottang, Hurin,
● 346 Keleng, and Marang. This is an example of the
[614] rule used: anything of a social nature is all
right, but if it is of a religious nature and
related to the old spirits or ghosts, etc.,
Catholicism won't take it. This is like the
[171] death feasts in the Toradja country, where the
Protestants will let the Christians go to these
social rites but not to the great exorcism
rites. Thus the Catholics here are not allowed
to go to the old rites on the nama in front of
the korke, but as the priest admitted, it is
hard for the folk here to see the difference,
and they tend to regard these retained aspects
of paganism as full paganism because they are
symbols of the whole pagan system.

797 He told much that was interesting. There is
178 in paganism here a need for a girl to be the
243 rice maiden for the fertility rites (Vatter &
796 tells the story too), and the old adat chiefs
insisted in one kampong that at least one girl
should not be converted, as at least one is
needed to be the rice maiden. This shows the
desperate plight of paganism. They must beg to
have something vital allowed to remain. "Give
us one only," they ask. He said it is true that
just about all of the young people are Catholic,
but many of the old remain pagan.

[771] ~~Was~~ Later, in Wailolong the guru Roy said there
are few, but very few young people who are pagan.
578 He told us about a war in which a man was killed
411 yesterday. It was a border war between Leloba
and Waibalun and the police had to stop it.
They fight these wars all the time, with bow and
spear and knife. I asked if maybe it were not
511 because they were hungry and need land. And
[578] hunger and misery cause aggression anyway. He
denied this, but I think it is true, especially

1. [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

Wae

- 000 population of seven hundred. Some of the houses
342 are large, but most of them are simple. All ex-
343 cept the barns are not built on piles. The roof
513 overhangs. It is made of alang-alang grass
thatch. Beneath it is a small plated-walled in
area where there is a large bench for sleeping.
There is also a bale-bale [sleeping bench] under the
roof and often in front too. Here sit the women
while they work. If there are two families to a
house, one sleeps on one end of the bench and the
[417] other on the other. There is no partition. This
364 kampong is not fenced in as is Leloba, and the
231 pigs run all over. This is an illustration of
797 what the mission does. It keeps the kampong
872 clean. In Wailolong there is a school of three
346 grades with two teachers. There is also a chapel
as in other kampongs. The church to which every-
one here goes on Sunday is in Riangkamië, but
since this was burned they go to one farther off.
[777] The people here seem to be more on the pagan
144 side, although the racial mixture is about the
142 same. It is notable how most of them are stan-
dard Negroid, but many, especially the women, are
nearly white and Caucasoid. Many children have
brown hair or hair which is partly brown.
[249] Cotton is grown locally and is pressed and
286 spun here. They spin thread on wheels as in Ende,
531 and also can spin with a spindle as they walk
along. They weave on the regular horizontal back-
bar loom. The colors of the woven cloth are blue
and black mostly. The designs are even poorer
than those in Ende. All is ikatted. And the
[562] cloth is very heavy. Different designs are used
for men and for women. They say that a cloth
takes a year to make.
463 There are evidently no (or nearly no) crafts-
411 men here, and everyone is a farmer. I see many
304 men with spears, but have not yet seen a bow. A
few old people, it seems especially the women,
have a little tattooing, and the guru says this

~~Yes~~
304 was more common formerly. The tattooing occurs on the arms, face, and chest. In Tandjung Bunga there is a lot of tattooing. Sometimes this is done on the back of the calves too. The young people do it no longer. However, the guru's daughter has her name tattooed on her arm.

342 The houses have upright sticks at the ridge ends, but the guru says this is of no significance.

764 Stones called nubanara are all over the kampong, lying flat mainly. I wonder if maybe these could have been used for graves in this kampong before, because the nubanara are scattered like the graves in Ende.

346 At the top of the kampong is the korke of the
178 kampong, and in front is a nama, or rectangular
535 dance place. This consists of a platform built
368 up of stones. Some of the stones should stand (four, one for each of the main suku; but the guru says there may be more than four standing). This appears in Vatter's photo of another nama. These former uprights here have fallen down and he says the people do not bother to erect them again. This is a sign of the steady breakdown of paganism. On the dance place there is an old drum left standing. It is evidently no longer used. The korke is empty, and has merely a bale-bale under a roof. No walls are left. The roof has not been repaired, which again may show the breakdown. Near the korke is a large house of
[614] the tuan tanah of the main suku, and near this is the korke of his suku. In addition to the kampong korke, there is one for each suku, but no nama in front of these. These korke are used by the kepala suku, who is also the tuan tanah of the suku, for suku rites regarding rain illness, etc. The main korke is used for kampong rites.
[574] When a feast is thus given, the big men sit on the bale-bale in the korke, and the dancers perform in front to the music of a drum and gong.
[534]

^ [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

797 stead they nearly always use the term Orang Katolik or Orang Serani. The usual pattern seems to be recurring, the Protestants not being accepted as of the same religion in any way.

797 The mission headquarters has a large building
● 346 for priests (there are always three here, but
874 others come to rest and get supplies), several
793 workshops (where boys who are dormitoried on the grounds learn woodworking, machine work, etc.), a lower and a following school of five grades with one thousand pupils in which boys and girls are kept separate (boys and girls from other islands sleep in dormitories), a household school, a laundry, a library, etc. It is really a great plant. There are four brothers of a "working" type here, who run the workshops and handle the technical education, including one Pole who was interned during the war. He speaks Dutch with an accent. There are many nuns here, [792] and they also help in the small government hospital. Evidently all or nearly all the schools in this area are "government," but they are really run by the mission. I haven't found out exactly how the system works yet. The Mission is ingenious. There is an old tractor which is used for lathe power, an old Japanese machine used for electricity, etc. They have a very large coffee plantation on the road to Maumeri and it looks good.

797 It is remarkable that such a great number of priests and nuns are here in this miserable spot, which can never be any good. Maybe they regard it as a sure foothold in a Mohammedan area, a foothold which may later be expanded.

244 There are practically no vegetables except
262 tubers here, and fruit is rare. So is all other food.

582 The suku marriage custom is evidently still
614 in force, and I will work on it in detail.

578 It is notable that there are so many border
721

487 of dirty, mixed kampongs, and then went up along
the cliffs over the sea to Nangapanda. Then
the road headed into the mountains, and after
[361] a long stretch which appeared to be practically
uninhabited (as usual between the coast and
mountain folk, here as in the Toradja country),
and finally we arrived in Badjawa. Before we
797 reached Badjawa we saw a large mission station
at Todabelu, where there were many modern
buildings, a seminary, and a model farm as well
as a trade school. All of these were notably
advanced over anything else we have seen in
Flores. As usual, it is connected with the
526 mission. In Badjawa there was a great crowd
for the day, and football games were held.
These are the great sport all over Indonesia
now, and it is coming even into the remote kam-
pongs. It is the national sport [i.e., soccer].

We saw here the dirty but spirited Ngada,
291 with dull clothes. The adat dress, however, is
striking, especially that of the men. It con-
sists of a dark blue cloak and a red headcloth.
304 We also noted that a lot of the people had filed
teeth, and in addition many had blackened them.
Earboring is a general practice here, but as
usual the younger men may have the holes but no
rings. (For example, the assistant in Roworeke
is like this and so is the younger guru in Le-
[771] loba.) This is a pretty primitive looking lot,
although most of them are Christian.

The Ngada kampongs are hard to see as they
361 are nearly all behind bamboo thickets. Ngada
342 houses are rectangular with low hanging hooded
roofs. They are built on piles definitely,
unlike Ende (or at least most of the houses in
Ende) and Larantuka. In these kampongs there
[778] are not many stones that I could see, but as
yet I have not seen a kampung fully. Notable
769 are the inverted pyramid-like ancestor houses
346 built on a single post. They are called nadu

169 or ngadu. These and the bhaga, which I could
346 not see clearly but which are evidently merely
minature rectangular houses for female ances-
tors, are notable features in just about all
of the Ngada kampongs. Arndt says the bhaga
are empty, but I wonder. These two sorts of
structures are erected by the prosperous folk
to show respect and honor to their dead ances-
tors. Each one is given the name of the ances-
tor. Evidently, a person may build one for
himself.

They are always built in pairs, one male and
one female.

159 The very fat Radja of Ngada came to the
634 pasanggrahan in a uniform with shoulder epau-
224 lets, four stripes, and above this a cluster
[292] looking like a sunburst. The uniform was white
and not unlike that of a KPM captain. He can't
write, and is still a pagan, but he says that
his children are Christian. He is very jolly
and although tolerant I can see that he thinks
little of the missions. He also criticized the
forced labor which the Dutch demanded for road
work when he was young. He said that anyone
who wouldn't follow orders, including the
radjas, was jailed or deposed. He is the man
who joked about the Dutch and the "modern"
Florenese. He never does much in administration,
[595] but likes to hunt and has many wives. He told
us that he has many children and grandchildren.
He gets in trouble with the government for burn-
ing the vegetation in deer hunts. He said it
is necessary to kill deer as otherwise they
would hurt the gardens. This land has practi-
311 cally no trees on it, but consists mostly of
[137] rolling naked hills as a result of overburning.
[133] Maybe the priest was right who said that he
[224] thought they were a hunting folk before and in
those days they burned off the whole area in
deer drives. Now they burn off the vegetable
[241] [See pp 366-69 of Arndt as cited in bibliography,
Cat. 113 -- Analyst]

361 kampong, or rather two suku living there, one
614 living on the level of the road and the other
621 a bit down the hill to the rear. However, they
are adjacent. The two suku are Naru and Lodo.
[211] At the road border of the kampong a bit in from
the road, standing against the skyline, is a
row of tall roughly chiseled stone pillars
looking like gigantic stone age scrapers or axe
heads. They are thin and tall. They are set
on a rectangular stone mound. Surrounding the
[417] kampong is a raised stone border as is typical
of all kampongs in this region, so that the
kampong itself is located down in a stone wall
enclosure.

346 Below the first row of stone pillars there
769 is another with just as many stones. It is also
531 set on a mound. Just below this stands the
umbrella-like ndaru for male ancestors, and on
one side there is a living tree with Y-branches
at the fork. Stones are heaped around the
ndaru and tree. The ndaru is about twelve feet
high, and consists of a single pillar with
thatched cap. The pillar is made of hehuh wood
and is carved in fancy designs which are hard
to make out. It also has eyes, a nose and a
mouth (on another one, in Brova, the eyes were
made of white shell). Looking under the cap I
could see that the pillar forks were in the
shape of a U, and so it is really about the
same as the Nageh peo, but less clearly Y-shaped
and covered with a cap.

342 To either side of the plaza, which was of
761 earth, stood a line of houses, which were small
and had rather low roofs. These houses are set
on piles. On one side was the house of the
624 mori ndaru, who is also the kepala kampong.
769 The mori ndaru is the highest man, like the tuan
346 tanah, and he is the one who sets up the ndaru.
565 There can be more than one ndaru per kampong.
554 Evidently any bangsawan can give a feast in
574

624
565
554
769
● 346
574
[782] order to set up a new ndaru, and thus increase his fame. However, a common man cannot do this. Buffaloes must be sacrificed on such occasions. Also, buffalo sacrifices are needed for putting a new roof on the ndaru. There is a "younger" mori ndaru who lives on the other side of the plaza. This has some relation to the elder and younger brother stuff mentioned in the manuscript report on Soa by a priest. Mommersteeg¹ has lent me this report. The mori ndaru house has a wood post in front, on either side beside the steps. They are rather thin and low and are carved in a human form. This is known as the ata deo, or rather these are the ata deo.

342
531 Also, beside the door of the house and on the porch are two richly carved wooden rectangles measuring about 3x2 feet. This looks like the Balinese stuff and consists mainly of scrolls so far as I could see.

[171]
237
342
531 Not only on the houses of the mori ndaru but also on others, we noted many lower jaws of pigs, wild pigs with tusks, deer horns, and buffalo horns. These are partly ranged along a rack under the roof eaves and partly, especially true of the buffalo horns, stuck in beside the wall of the porch. We later found out that the ata deo may be used by others than the mori ndaru, but evidently the carved wood slabs are only for him. I saw some especially elaborate lower jaw carvings on a barn in Brova.

346
231
[624] In the lower kampong, Lodo, which has a low stone wall between it and Naru, there is the house of the mori ndaru (thus each suku, voi, has a mori ndaru, and there may be more than one per kampong) and the rest of the things just mentioned. The ndaru there, however, has a worn-out roof, and when I asked why there had been no renewal they said that they would do so, but they would have to get the buffalo first.

¹ [pastor at Soa -- Analyst]

342 Also, Lodo seems poorer in general and has fewer and less spectacular stone pillars. Many of the houses here have double front porches, one behind the other.

● 346 Each of the two sections or kampongs has a female ancestor house, called a bhaga. It is a simple rectangular small house inside of which are many horns, jaws, and a fireplace with an earthen base and three stones on it. Cooking is done therein during feasts. I can see here many clear reminiscences of a hunting level. For example, the jaws seem to indicate this.

[171] This is just like Mentawai, and, for that matter, Punan. And the people here still do a lot of hunting. They also have hunting rites.

582 The mori ndaru and kepala kampong of Naru is easy to talk with, and he said that they may marry in and out of the voi, but such marriages must be within the same turunan, i.e., there are evidently larger groupings of voi. He said, for example, that the people of Lodo and Naru could intermarry, because they were all descended from Naru. I got a real rise when I asked him about the bapu, i.e., the spirit in the hehuh tree who is also thus in the ndaru, which must have its post made from the hehuh tree. I read that the name of bapu was taboo and they said that indeed this was true, that formerly there was no mention made of it. They still regard this somewhat secretly and looked shiftily when I mentioned it.

782 When there is a sacrifice they must always smear some blood on the ndaru. The house of the mori ndaru, and any other house which has the elaborate carvings (which are evidently a sign that the owner has built a ndaru) are called soa wadjo. The report I have says that wadjo means strong and also having a sense of magic power.

582 When I asked about marriage rules, they were
565

632 Then we went to Soa, which is a kepala mere
361 district, with the kepala mere at Brova. It is
435 a complex of nearby kampongs set in a rich
433 plain. It is warm here, as it is in a valley.
Alfons says that this is the richest part of
Ngada, with plenty of agriculture and lots of
animals. (The lowest price of a horse here is
fl. 100.00 and for a buffalo fl. 80.00. The
[262] lowest price for a dog, which is eaten as a
great delicacy, is fl. 10.00. Prices go much
higher.

We had to go off the road on a path over
361 which no car had gone for many years. We went
224 to the church of Mommersteeg, but he was not in.
The kampong nearby was Masu, but there are lots
of others, making almost a metropolitan area.
All these people are Nageh, outlyers here in
Ngada territory. These are the ones that have
occasional big hunting rites, and they do a lot
[237] of hunting. I note many jaws here, especially
those of tusked wild pigs in addition to the
deer horns. The only time the people here get
515 water on their bodies is when it rains and once
574 a year when all the kampongs in turn have the
great deli feast, at which time men splash water
on the women and vice versa.

346 In the center of these kampongs one sees
769 mostly the real forked and uncapped peo, but
778 some have the ndaru, perhaps taken over from the
532 Ngada. The peo is set on a stone mound. There
are other stone mounds too. There are no watu
lewa, the long pillars of the Ngada, however.
There are sacred trees here too. The peo are
carved, and it was at Brova that I saw the fine
shell eyes set in a peo.

342 We walked around this kampong and a few
624 others. They had stone enclosures and the
532 houses of the mosi ndaru (but a different name
417 is used here, I think). They also have the
000 carved wooden slabs, and the ata deo too. Every-

Every-

243 where around the earthen plaza there are corn
251 drying racks set upright on tall piles. They
looked very high and impressive.

126 I took a good photo of an old man before the
peo of Masu.

342 Then we went to the kampong of the kepala
764 mere at Brova. His house was a good stucco one
769 though in native style. A large cement covered
● 346 tomb of his father was in front, and beside it
were two great slabs set upright. In the cen-
ter of the plaza was a finely carved peo with
shelleyes. It was set in cement.

132 From here we went back to Badjawa, and thence
124 to Ende, going all of the way in rain. However,
when we reached Nangba, eight kilometers from
Ende, the river was in a wild flood because of
two days rain in the mountains. Therefore we
had to stay overnight at the house of a former
kapitan of Rukuramba. His younger brother is
the present scribe. The former kapitan has the
[181] oily and cringing manner of the Endenese. He
144 is a rather old and handsome man. Here I see
the Negroid element beginning. (The Radja of
Nageh-Keo is a proto-Malay, but with dark skin.)

632 The kapitan gave us the usual "line" about
648 how the United States is so rich that it must
634 help Indonesia. I am getting tired of this.
578 He also was very troubled about how he was de-
711 posed by the Radja for the Mohammedan kapitan.
He constantly brings up the case with the govern-
ment, but he says that the Mohammedan Radja and
his cronies are taking everything. There is
only one Christian kapitan left in Ende (Rear-
anga). He said the great majority of gemeente
Rukuramba are Christian, and when he was removed
from office there were nearly no Mohammedans.
634 However, the Radja and his group are now moving
166 Mohammedan settlers in and giving them land.
361 There are more than four hundred here now. And
now they are asking the Christians to move up

574 He furnished us with fair food, rice and
chicken, and coffee, and then fixed up the beds
without mosquito nets in one room. The son of
872 the mandur of the pasanggrahan of Badjawa was
with us, on his way to school in Ende, and he
had a little packet of clothes, a canteen and
a ukulele. The latter was in sad condition.
484 He slept on the floor on a mat. The next morn-
ing we just about made it across the river
with our goods lifted by the men in order to
lighten the jeep. This was a hard experience,
and we decided to make the western run only once
132 more, at the end. This rainy season is too hard
here and it is dangerous because there is always
a risk of delay from floods or landslides. Ende
seemed luxurious after this run to the west.

124 The assistant was in Ende for a tax meeting
of kapitan, and after noon I took him and the
kapitan and the latter's servant to Roworeke.
They had to work on taxation in the afternoon,
so I decided to start in tomorrow morning. Ro-
woreke, as usual, is always troublesome. The
jeep was overcrowded with many riders. I took
them out, and came back with a load.

482 Incidental notes on Flores: We saw the use
of a tumpline in Sikka. This is true also for
Nageh and Ngada. They use this for carrying
loads especially in Sikka and also for betel
ingredients in Ngada. They use small plaited
bags.

302 Girls in Ngada and Nageh have half-shaved
tonsures. This is not true of all, but certain-
ly of many of the girls. There are variations
in style, including topknots. I note the latter
on boys too.

721 A Ngada man denied head-hunting at any time
● 346 and said that there is no head under the new
23) ndaru, but rather a red dog, a pig, and a cock,
all buried alive. But ENI says that there was
[554] head-hunting and that Ngada heroes had goatskin
bands under their knees formerly.

000 bands under their knees formerly.

582 ^R Roworeke: On the next day we saw some progress made in making out the census. There are a couple of cases of endogamy, but they are seven "layers" distant.

782 I asked about the oro pesangga, which Such-
telen¹ says are offering posts set before each
● 346 house in Ende. They said that oro is merely a more polite word for ata, man. And pesangga means merely to stab. Thus it means only a man who stabs, i.e. the one who does the sacrifice. This is very unclear. I got no further with it. Perhaps it is only in the mountains.

[361] The central offering post, tubu musu, mentioned by Suchtelen,¹ is found in Roworeke Asal. I must see it. Suku Gusa has one in Wolowaru, the deserted kampong lama above here. There the original settlers were Odja and the Gusa folk came in later. Then they both moved down to the present Roworeke.

166 The Ende folk who live in the border areas
361 of Ndetu and Tana Ri are papalele, i.e., people
[441] who have no land generally but who buy and sell. They have mere huts to live in, and they come for awhile and then leave. However, many of them have been in their huts for four to five years, so all of them will be entered in the census. They are not full members of the kampong, and indeed are regarded as mere "people who have arrived."

632 The list of gemeente in Ende is as follows (and the proper spelling is Rewarangga):

1. Nggobe (town and inland).
2. Rodja (town and peninsula).
3. Rewarangga (five to eight kilometers).
4. Pulo Ende (island).
5. Rukuramba (km. 8 on the way to Badjawa).
6. Berai (km. 6 on the way to Badjawa).
7. Numba (km. 18 on the way to Badjawa).

[See p. 133 of van Suchtelen as cited in bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

R

- 632 8. Nangapanda (km. 28 on the way to Badjawa).
9. Tana Djea (km. 31 on the way to Badjawa).

632 Thus Rewarangga is the easternmost of the ge-
173 meenten, on the border with Lio. It is half
surrounded by Nggobe. I asked about the ances-
tor stories which make Rodja and Nggobe the
first and greatest gemeenten. The kapitan said
that this was because of the manner in which
Suchtelen¹ got his stories. The people who gave
him his information were nearly all illiterate
townsfolk. I retold the story of the five sib-
[186] lings from Java. He agreed that every area had
its own version in order to make themselves ap-
pear greatest.

632 He said he got along all right with the Moham-
medans and that the former Christian Rukuramba
kapitan was merely inefficient. Arriens said
so too, and that the present Mohammedan kapitan
there is the best of all.

614 Then I checked the place of origin of the
361 suku in the census and got the following infor-
mation. Odja came from Rabu (Rewarangga). Meo
came from Ndetuko'u (Nggobe). Djawa came from
Rabu (Rewarangga). Nduru came from Ndungga
(Lio). Reandona came from Woropau (Nggobe).
Wanda came from Waturoga (Lio). Tibo (Gusa)
came from Koavena (Rewarangga). Ndosi came from
Wolotole (Lio). Rewarangga came from Worowai
(Rewarangga).

Note: This suku (Rewarangga), the real old
one of this region, originally lived in an even
higher kampong, Wawotonda. It was located two
kilometers above here on the road into the hills.
Worowai is only a half to one kilometer above
the road. A few people live in the Wawotonda
area, but it is no longer a kampong. It is in
the territory of the kampong Worowai. In Wawo-
[778] tonda there are stones and cannon. But the
● [346] ruma berhala of Rewarangga suku (a bone house
like that of Odja here) is in Worowai now.

[L See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

R

443 basis. They obtain products by purchase in the
backland and sell them in Ende. They also sell
gewgaws which they bring along with them.

186 Interest in local, foreign or international
829 news is at a very low level. They insist that
nearly everyone here knows just about nothing
in regard to anything outside of the kampong.
They are even ignorant of Rewarangga.

614 They said that originally each kampong con-
621 sisted of only one suku. Then others moved in.
Thus, at one time Wawatonda was the kampong of
suku Rewarangga. Then they came down to
Worowai. Here today there is a rumah berhala,
[764] but it is a mere bone-grave hut, like Odja in
Roworeke.

Rabu is now in three kampongs. It was one
at some former time. It is ten kilometers from
here. This is the place where the original
kampong of the Odja suku was located. But they
have now lost contact, and indeed, so complete
was the move to Roworeke that probably no Odja
folk are left in Rabu today.

124 The kapitan said an interesting thing when
829 I was pressing him to give information in this
regard. He said that only since I came here
had he learned very much about the culture and
the past of Rewarangga.

778 These rumah berhala, with images and a real
614 house, or merely with the grave-bone shrines,
● 346 are suku shrines. There are four real rumah
764 berhala houses in Rewarangga. These are as
large as a real old style high roofed house,

[753] and in them there are images (ana deo) and per-
[782] haps bone bundles too. These run as follows:
(and anyone who visits them and looks into them
must leave an offering, for example, money or
cigarettes, etc.; otherwise he may get sick):

1. Volofeo has a real house and in it there
are four ana deo, wooden images. There are no
bones. This house was used by all four suku

R

346 here, and perhaps each ana deo is of one of
614 the suku. They are uncertain about this, but
778 thought that this was perhaps right. They
764 did know that the house was used by all four
suku. It is a kind of cooperative venture in
the ancestor cult. They got together and
built it. It is at kilometer 17, one kilome-
ter's walk up.

2. Bu'ube'i, the most remote of the
Rewarangga kampongs, is at kilometer 17 plus
a ten kilometer walk. There is a real house
there, but the kapitan does not know if there
are any bones. They do not know what suku it
belongs to. He was there, but was afraid to
[753] look inside. They fear illness. I asked why
[782] he didn't give a gift and thus insure his
safety. He said it would be no use to take
[152] the chance. Thus he is a Catholic and thus he
fears both outside magic and ancestral ghosts
at the same time. It does have an ana deo.

3. Ratebedi has an ana deo, and bones too.
The suku is unknown. This is at kilometer 13
plus a four kilometer walk.

4. Vavoëü has an ana deo, but with no
bones. The suku is unknown. It is at kilo-
meter 13 plus a one kilometer walk.

All others have either nothing or merely a
grave-bones shrine.

5. Worowai has a shrine of the suku Re-
warangga.

6. Roworeke has a shrine of the suku Odja.
It is in a section of Roworeke Asal.

7. Worowaku does not even have a shrine.

8. Arereke has a shrine of suku Urureva.

9. Pu'uperi has a shrine of suku Rea (a
different suku from Reandona).

10. Information is lacking for Kekawi'i.

11. Koavena has a shrine of the Gusa suku.

12. Kekamberu does not even have a shrine.

13. Nioreko has a shrine, but the suku is

R

614 unknown. Nioreko also has a rumah berhala, an
778 actual house, but it is merely temporary and
● 346 lasts only seven to eight years. Then it is
764 rebuilt. It has no ana deo. This is a kind
of intermediate type of situation.

14. Marunggo'o has no shrine. Thus suku
Reandona evidently has none.

15. Pu'umbindi has a shrine, but the suku
is unknown.

16. Mbago has a shrine, but the suku is
unknown.

17. Pemodjera has a shrine, but the suku
is unknown. Also, like Nioreko, Pemodjera
has a temporary rumah berhala house, which is
rebuilt when it collapses.

18. Sokopedji does not even have a shrine.
It is a new kampong.

614 This is interesting and goes to show that
178 the suku were localized before. I asked why
829 there were so many in the census for which the
suku were unknown. They said that if their
parents did not tell them, they never learned
this information. It shows a breakdown in
the system, but it is still very important.
Real disintegration is just beginning. I
scolded them to the effect that they as govern-
ment men of Rewarangga did not even know the
suku of the kampongs in their district. I
said that the people in the United States
would think that they were poor administrators.
They said that this suku business was adat
only and that they were concerned with govern-
ment only. I pointed out that even the giri
tumba besar seemed vague about all of this
outside of his own kampong, and he is a leader
of adat. They begged off saying that perhaps
he didn't understand what I was after.

778 It is notable that only the four kampongs
769 with real rumah berhala (Volofoe, Bu'ubedi,
346 Ratebedi, and Vavoëü) have annual ancestor
574

R

778 feasts. Thus it is like Barupu in Toradja.

769 (Ratebedi is one of the Rabu kampongs.

346 Vavoŋŋ is another, and so is the non-shrine
574 kampong Kekamberu. The others which have
merely the grave-bone shrines have a feast
only when they need to fix up a shrine.

632 The next day we went to Roworeke again.

Note an error in the preceding notes: The
sikesani besar, who lives in Worowai, is of
the suku Nggonggora'ba. Thus the Big Four are
as follows: Mosa laki mere of Rewarangga,
Giri tumba of Odja. Ndeto au of Rewarangga,
and Sikesani of Nggonggora'ba. The names of
these posts mean: mosa, male (animal); laki,
male (human); mere, big; giri, around; tumba,
spear (he walks around with a spear); ndetu,
many colored; au, bamboo; sike, here; sani,
there.

181 I am always impressed by the combination of
124 lack of courtesy and the cringing servility of
576 these Endenese. They constantly talk to each
other when I am talking, pass remarks about me
in Endenese, etc. At the same time they keep
on "tuaming" and bowing. They are grasping
too. For example, the kapitan looks steadily
at my gold watch and band and asked me to sell
him U.S. gold pieces. The assistant asked me
to give him personally a ring-spiral notebook
such as used for the work. He can't answer
questions on the schedule, so I have to do it
all. The kapitan is a bit better, and the guru
is smarter, but I get the idea that these folk
are a rather poor lot.

784 Again we got on to the subject of totemism.
262 The word for such taboos is pire. I doubt that
614 I got the whole story, but as far as I can see
562 there are three kinds of totem taboos and they
apply to foods:

(1) Suku or pu'u taboo. This is called
pire ngguŋh, the latter term meaning "descen-

Wa

621 call the people from the Blakang Gunung region
173 "blake").

Lewoneda is now mixed, as people came in later from Sina Djawa. Riang Kanali is a branch of Lewohala. Riang Kamië is very mixed. It includes people of the original (that is, Lenurat descended suku) and others. However, it was evidently founded by people from Kroko Putang, the island which disappeared, and whose refugees are all over Larantuka. For example, this is true of the radja kedua here. These folk are called Tenemau (meaning "sailed here in a prau"). Riang Kamië is the largest of all the kampongs. Formerly there was plenty of war between it and Leloba.

578 Lewowitin is the term for a traditional
721 enemy kampong. Formerly heads were exchanged
●346 for the korke. These heads were not buried but hung in the korke (like animal jaws today? I also thought as I saw a pig killed, how easy it would be to imagine a human sacrifice instead).

614 In Riang Kamië there are many suku. The as-
621 sistant cannot list all of them, but he remembers
173 Kottang, Marang, Molang 1, Molang 2, Belowen,
829 Lowalia, Lolamaki, Keleng, etc. There is no Hurint.

He says there are four kinds of people here, according to their origin:

1. Padji. They were here in plenty before, but they were all driven out by the Lenurat people, who are here called the Ili Djadi (Ili means emerged), the second group. The Padji were driven to Tandjung Bunda where they are still numerous, and also to the islands, for example to Adonara. They were evidently the aborigines, but he says there was no physical difference, even in the legends.

2. Demon or Ili Djadi. They drove the Padji out after emerging from the mountains, or rather after their father's emergence. The Demon or

War

578 land disputes, head-hunting, and women. Or
721 perhaps the latter two should be reversed.
Another cause was molesting a child if done
by a neighboring kampong. There were also
radja wars, in which the people served, but
this was involved in high politics. Finally,
there were also the early wars against the ab-
origines, the Padji folk.

721 The reasons for head-hunting were linked
● 346 with the new korke (this is still a reason for
796 the largest feast, when all kampongs come to-
782 gether. Nowadays, the feast for the new church
takes over this function). When a new korke is
built, if the six posts do not fit into the
rafter posts, it is a sign that the posts are
not happy because they are in need of food, so
they are pledged food. Formerly the people
then went out and got a head and hung it in
the korke. Then everything was all right.
Note that nowadays at such rites they give food
to the posts. For example, yesterday they
smeared rice on the four barn posts. The korke
must have six posts.

346 The korke was the center of the war cult and
769 the ghost cult (ancestor cult). The barns were
343 the center of the agricultural cult. The little
241 kebang (barn) of the suku and the ama is called
sebu. A

582 Relations between villages are kept up by
621 marriages. In fact, they are almost the sole
602 reason for such relations. This shows that
genealogical relationship is nearly everything
here. It shows also why descent is the basis
for the whole organization of power, etc., and
why marriage rules are so complex and strongly
held to. There have even been marriage rela-
tions with Riang Kamiö, although they have not
been too pronounced.

476 Another reason for relations with other com-
582 munities is work. That is, there is mutual aid
602

621 [See cat. 116, p. 202 -- Analyst]

We.

789 even the rice, animals, iron and trees have it. If an animal lives for a long time despite many blows, he is in possession of a lot of this power. Men differ in the amount of this power they may have. The radja has lots, and so on down the line. Thus power is a combination of ancestor sanction and real, indwelling power which comes with the blood of legitimacy. The stones and other fetishes linked with office reinforce and symbolize this power. One can even have power from animal familiars, as is the case with the assistant's father.

769 This led to a talk about how to reconcile
797 the ancestors, who were pagan, with the abandon-
182 ment of the rites they were used to. They have rationalized that God is more powerful than their ancestors, and the latter are in heaven anyway. They call on them rather than call them in person. The pagans, however, still do the latter. This is usual, and I think it is a real problem to them. Roy told how Laba, the last powerful pagan of Leloba, gradually took on Christianity after swearing that he would not. He tried it and his crops were still good. He decided that maybe it was all right. What would have happened if his crops had failed? And what if his crops failed steadily now or there was a great calamity? Could there be a nativist revival of paganism? The Catholics are working fast to kill everything before there is any chance of this.

346 I asked why the korke of several kampongs were
656 in such bad repair. He said that this was because
796 of the great cost in animals, etc. needed for a feast at the time of rebuilding. And, the government will not allow "wasteful" rites to be held. They say that it is a waste because so much food is consumed and so many beasts are killed. But why, then, let them build a new church for the one which is now burned in Riang Kami?

Wk

946 This costs money, at least. With cleverness,
797 Pastor Krol told how the scheme is working to
get the folk to sell their tusks in order to
get money to contribute to the new church.
This works on the grounds that the people were
careless with their fire in the fields when
there was a high wind, and this caused the burn-
ing of the church. It is all a wily game, and
the pagans are lost.

797 This whole religious matter is endless. It
182 is the most powerful acculturation thing here,
769 and the whole weight of Catholicism is on the
last few pagans. The guru is full of the propa-
ganda of rationalization. For example, he says,
how do we know where the ancestors are? If
they led good lives they are in heaven; and if
not, they are in the sea (hell). And if they
were good they must be in heaven, even though
they were not Catholic, because they knew nothing
of the Word when they lived.

632 The next day we started by clearing up a point
614 about the radja tuan. He may come from another
ama than the No. 1 or waru'ing ama. Thus in
Ama Datong suku the present Radja tuan is the
kelake of Ama Radja, which is the No. 3 ama.

789 Roy said that not only officials have magic
565 power, but that also all members of the noble
171 families have some, though not so much as the
865 chiefs. They definitely have more than common
folk. This is why one must show respect to the
uppers. It is like Bone in Celebes, but less so
perhaps. For example, they are very much afraid
of hitting a noble child.

756 A sorcerer (molang) receives respect too,
754 even though his post is not hereditary. Some
[462] sorcerers, however, are noble. Sorcerers may
be male or female, and indeed Roy thinks most of
them are women. I asked how one got to be a
molang, and he said that in general they get a
call while dreaming. It is a matter of getting

Wb.

797 ever, he says that this was not caused by mis-
178 fortunes. I asked about the Catholics trying
to kill all of the old culture, and he said
that they use no force. I gave the case of
[34] the church and the taboo on the expense of re-
building a korke, and how the Catholics allowed
for the great cost of a new church in Riang
Kamië. He saw my point, but then when I asked
about the sale of tusks in order to pay for
the church, he said that this was a suggestion
of the Riang Kamië folk themselves (no urging
by the priest?) and that this was to be done
only by a few families or groups which set the
disastrous fire.

583 This led us on to a talk about the tusks.
452 He says that they do not need many to keep the
marriage system going. Thus both in Wailolong
and Leloba they have about twenty-five left to-
day. This is enough. But they must have at
least five, as this is the minimum price for
a girl. As long as they have the price for one
girl they can keep the system going on a credit
scheme. This is amazing. It is necessary, and
absolutely so, to keep five.

I told about Roworeke, which has lost all
their tusks, and he said haggardly that this
might possibly happen here, but he didn't want
to think of the results. The minimum number of
five holds for this part of the district, but
in the Riang Kamië sector it is only three, so
they could keep the system going with a minimum
of three. The reason Roy is so firm on this
matter concerning the tusks is that he insists
that one cannot get married without tusks, or
at least credit for tusks. There is nothing
else that can be used for the bride price.
Thus there are no animals, gold, money, or any-
thing else used.

684 Error: I said before that the animals killed
231 in the incest cases were part of the bride price.

Was

832 those rascals. They scolded them, saying that
694 if they wanted women, they should ask about
628 them, and speak up about it. That is, they were
willing to hear a request, but it had to be done
through regular channels without chiseling.
("If you had come to us decently, etc.")

582 In regard to the relative ages of the couple
when marriage takes place, the ideal is to have
a couple whose ages are nearly the same. If
either is older it is better for a boy to be a
bit a girl's senior. If there is too great a
discrepancy in age, it is not good.

595 His grandfather had four wives. I note that
183 he does not seem to regard polygyny as very bad,
even now. And he does not hesitate to tell me
that other Christians do this. It is simply
that they do not get the sacramen for the second,
or third, or even later wife. That's all. Dis-
pensation is called isin.

582 He says that the people in Tandjung Bunga
836 marry when they are very young, and that they
begin their sex life as early as nine years old.

178 In the old days, the boys in Leloba and Wailo-
513 long slept regularly in the korke or sebuang
882 (the ama korke, and this is a correction:
sebuang does not refer to the barns of the ama,
346 but to the cult houses). I think he said that
614 this is not done any more in Wailolong. It was
not required, but they just did it. This took
place after a boy reached the age of about six-
teen. Roy did it himself. They liked this be-
cause it was more fun. They could talk, sing,
discuss girls, etc. (I think it was practically
a rule, and I wonder what they would have said
if a boy did not go there.)

178 What has happened now is peculiar. The boys
513 sleep together in groups, wherever it seems
882 good. They get in the habit, for example, of
171 sleeping on the benches of a certain house, or
in a vacant house, etc. (Thus I see that the

R

624 like the marinyo of Ambon. I asked what the
465 secretary got, and he said cigarette money
only. The pay is evidently very little.

583 Correction: Although he says there is no
614 case here now, he has found out that if the
611 bride price is not paid, the children are of
784 the suku of the mother. And the bride price
must be paid at marriage. There is no post-
marriage payment in order to get the children
back. Thus there is real ambil anak here.
The man remains a member of his own sib, and
the wife a member of hers. Thus she assumes
the "married woman" totem taboos of her own
sib, not those of her husband's sib, as is the
more usual thing.

346 I asked about the rumah berhala of Wolofec.
778 This group has a real house, and in it there
614 are four ana deo, two in bad repair. There is
one for each of the four suku. There are no
other suku in the kampong. There are also
plenty of belongings in the house. It is
rather large, about twelve meters on a side.
There are baskets and other objects therein.
This old kampong is only one kilometer off the
road in the hills at kilometer 17. I may go
there one day. The four suku are Mbonggi (the
kepala kampong is from this), Djo'bi, Soa, and
Woro. The oldest suku is Mbonggi. There is
[769] also a grave-bone shrine here, of the suku
Djo'bi.

771 The folk here are now mostly Catholic, but
769 they do have an annual ancestor rite, and the
Catholics attend too. The kampong Ratebedi,
far off in the hills, has fewer Catholics, as
is the case with the far off Bu'ube'i. The
distant ones remain pagan longer.

872 Fifty years ago there was no school. It came
178 in 1921. No one went to school before this.
2/2 They were totally illiterate (this shows how
000 recently the schools came in here). They were

R

178 In terms of technology and occupation, there
463 have been very few changes. They still farm
in the old way, and there have been no new jobs
342 created. There are today such houses as the
178 kapitan's, with a bit of cement work. This is
354 new. And every house has a pelita /a kind of
lamp/ for which they buy kerosene. Few of
them have any real lamps like the kapitan's.
The assistant has one, but it is typically out
of order. Shirts here are new, but they are
291 rare and cost much. Shoes are new here and
178 are very rare. Pens, etc., are extremely rare.
[443] The women no longer wear the homespun blouses.
They wear homespun sarongs like the men do,
but buy kebaya of thinner cloth today.

286 They cannot make thin cloth with their
looms, and this is a great handicap. What
they make is too heavy. This is mainly a mat-
ter of thread. They can't spin thread any
thinner than they do and have it strong enough
so that it will not break in the loom. Thus,
if they could get trade thread, they might be
able to weave thinner cloth (?).

• [346] The only tin roofs are on the grave-bone
shrines of Odja and Wanda.

Every woman spins thread and weaves. There
are no specialists, however, who sell cloth.
This is done only rarely.

463 There are no smiths or specialists of any
326 kind. There were about twenty men who worked
503 at making pots here, and this started evidently
about two years ago. It was a Chinese company
(evidently tied in with the Radja some way),
and these lads worked in their spare time. As
there are no orders now, they are working
there no longer. It is not a native craft.

241 The most important local agricultural crop
and food source is maize, by far. Then come
rice, vegetables, and yams. There is no sago;
000 they have never heard of it. Little meat is

Wa

796 story is clear in their minds.

241 Note also that a Sumba girl was sacrificed
782 for dry springs and fertility. The pieces were
sent all over the island. Here we clearly have
a pattern. I wonder if perhaps the proto-Malay
[74] strength in Lio may show a Sumba link, and
human sacrifice of this sort may not have come
into Flores with an eastward migration. There
is a fair chance, I think, that they had at
least two migrations into Flores: one from
the west, the proto-Malay (and thence perhaps
the stories in regard to Sina Djawa); and the
other from the east, the Negroid migration,
and thence the stories in regard to Kroko Putang
and other ancestors from Timor, etc.

The tuno wudjo, ideally one for each suku and
ama, are still used in ceremonies of all the
kampongs here except Leloba and Lewoneda. Wailo-
long still uses them. The Catholics do not make
much fuss about this. The Catholics must allow
the rites. The tuno wudjo must fast for half a
year or thereabouts, that is, there is a taboo
on animals sacrificed for agriculture for them
(could it be because they are substitutes for
the tuno wudjo themselves, or is this too wild
a guess?). It is notable anyway that only two
kampongs have discontinued the tuno wudjo so
far in this largely Catholic area. It shows
how recent and relatively partial the Catholic
hold on the population is here. It also shows
how strong the agricultural base of paganism is
and how important food can be in these terribly
poor areas. The people cannot afford to take a
chance, even with the old gods.

[77] I can discern no Hindu or Buddhistic elements
here at all.

• [348] The korke is the kampong temple. In addition,
[614] each suku and each ama has its barn for the
"adat" rice, corn, etc. This is like a kind of
temple too, and ceremonies such as I saw were

We.

796 held under the ama kebang.

241 Note the food symbolism in these most important
782 rites. They take place under the barn.

[388] There are present at these ceremonies the old women (in the old days young virgins) who act as tuno wudjo and food divider. The high point is the killing of a pig, and the meat is mixed with the rice and the blood and the four posts are smeared with this food. Everyone eats. The whole thing is completely linked with fertility. And the ancestors are summoned in the litany and are invited to come and eat.

778 There are plenty of holy places, such as the
kamponng lama, the place where the tuno wudjo is
●[346] (what does this mean?), the place where they used to assemble before a war (did they do this before the recent war against Waibalun? Perhaps the few who did the active part of the warfare did). Then there are also holy stones: nubanara, and saonivang. There is also a church or rather a chapel!

The stones are especially important, and this is a real stone cult area. He admits this, and if I had time I could get much about the stories, beliefs, etc., in regard to these stones. I told him about the Stonehenge, the dolmens, etc., and he caught onto this fast.

241 The festival calendar is largely one of agricultural
527 feasts. The main ones are at planting and harvest. There are other agricultural feasts too, at all stages. For example, there are festivals at the time of burning the fields, clearing the fields, etc. In all, the agricultural cycle includes thirteen rites. At the thirteenth the harvest comes, and a big time is had by all. Everyone eats and there is a lot of noise. During the growing period everything
[324] is quiet in order not to disturb the spirit of the crops. This is a period of danger and much

Wa.

527 risk, and one must tread warily and devoutly.
241 Observing all the rites and showing respect for
the most important thing of all, food, is the
proper thing.

[182] There are also feasts to ask for rain (held
at the korke), and against widespread illness
(also at the korke), for a new korke, for a
new kebang, and for a new "big house."

Note that most of the agricultural rites
occur in the fields.

Once in about every nine to ten years they
have a great thanksgiving feast, if the crops
are good.

[851] A small feast is given when a child is born,
but there is no animal sacrifice. If twins
are born, however, an animal is cut. Note the
gladness displayed at the increase or income
of any kind whatsoever, including an additional
human being.

[585] There is no marriage feast at all in the old
adat.

The biggest feasts are those held at harvest,
for a new korke, and the thanksgiving feast.

[171] Note that the Toradja have the thanksgiving
feast too, and I saw the start of it there.

● [346] The new korke feast is now given when they have
a new church!

346 Note the way that the church links with the
604 old cult. I remember almost the first thing I
177 heard here was from the priest who said that
the new church is being partly paid for by sell-
ing the tusks of the families whose carelessness
caused the fire which burned the old church.
He also said in the church, both in the old and
the new, there are the signs of the four main
suku. They have their place in the church.
And I suppose they will cut up animals for the
new church too. If so this sort of takes the
wind out of the argument against constructing
a new korke, namely, that it would cause too
much of a waste of animals.

Wa.

000 much of a waste of animals.

796 I finally found out which kampongs do the
614 main ritual functions when they have a general
●346 Belakang Gunung feast at which all kampongs
are represented. This is when they have a new
korke (or church). The order is as follows:

1. Kottang is Mudakaputu (descendants of Bampowa).
2. Keleng is Lewohala (descendants of Kewaka).
3. Hurint is Leloba (descendants of Belawaburak).
4. Marang is Wailolong (descendants of Keweluk).

5. The passer of food and drink and betel ingredients is Watuwiti (descendant of Mado). Thus they are the five brothers.

624 Hence we have the "sistim" which he himself
614 is so impressed by. There are priests in the
793 sense that the radja tuan and the kelake are
565 really suku and ama priests. They are admin-
789 istrative and ritual officers. In addition,
756 there are priests and gurus of the new religion.
And there are the molang or medicine seers.
These have more power and influence if they are
of bangsawan descent. Thus again the magic
power of proper descent comes to the fore and
we see that blood and rank affect even the in-
fluence of medicine men. Then there are the
dukun, who are doctors but with magical aspects.

798 They are extremely liberal toward all reli-
gions. The only sign of any animosity I ever
saw was toward Mohammedanism, and it was not
even here except in Kampong Baru. The pagan
resistance was more pronounced formerly. Today
the two cults work together without much, if
any, friction.

871 The schools are government schools, but the
797 mission runs them and evidently provides, but
658 does not pay, the teachers. The schools were

Wa

585 come mainly in the "free months" after harvest,
[221] that is, July, August, September. (Note here
786 that the tuno wudjo fasting period comes in,
261 which he said lasts for about six months. It
just jibes with the quiet time.)¹

721 Head-hunting was done formerly for a feast
● 346 for a new korke (they can't do it for the new
178 church; too bad!). I have already mentioned
782 how they would give the new posts of a korke
some food if the posts did not fit into the
rafter holes. This showed that they were hun-
gry. Formerly the food given was human heads.
They were hung in the korke. (I suspect there
was more of this than Roy² says, but he is hon-
est, and perhaps this simply was not done
during his time.)

[241] I asked about the blood and the heads needed
for making the land fertile and the crops plen-
tiful, etc. He was very vague about this, and
my guess is that it is not native in this area.
Still, I note the tuno wudjo myth. But this
may indeed be a Lio importation. Anyway, they
know the connection between blood, human sacri-
fice, and "fat land." There must be a link
here.

226 He says there is no cannibalism here. He
727 says Seegeler³ was wrong to suspect that they
ate parts of the human beings killed in human
sacrifice. In fact, he says they didn't even
have the human sacrifice. But then he hedged a
bit when I reminded him how the Keweluk had
forbidden the killing of the Padji women. Then
he corrected my previous version of this tale
and said that when they had these wars, they
didn't, as I thought, kill half the defeated at
once and bring the other half back to the kampong
and there kill them. He said that actually what
they did was to kill only one person and bring
the head back. Thus, in the Padji case, they
killed one woman and brought her head back. It
¹ [i.e., January-June; see category 116, p. 276, #2 -- Analyst]
² [the assistant] ³ [a former Controleur -- Analyst]

We

582 the previous talk of the tuan tanah that there
614 are preferred clans. I will clinch this when
I get the va'u membership of the inmarriers.

The next day I started in on some more
question in regard to social organization.

[103] Note that the name of the kampong below is
346 Tjantjar, not as I have spelled it above
[Tjantsia]. I went there halfway through the
morning as I heard drums and gongs. There were
girls (looking very Hawaiian) sitting on the
porch of the house next to the new one of the
tuan tanah now being built. The timbers are
up. It will be a rectangular house, although
the one it replaces was round (I made a photo
of the latter only a month ago, which shows
how fast the old type is vanishing). The
drums and gongs were being beaten because this
is necessary when a new tuan tanah house (rumah
gong-gendang) is being built.

746 There were several drums and several gongs
533 (and I found that each tuan tanah house has
776 several of each). They must be beaten all the
824 time, with short pauses, and the girls take
[562] turns. The men may help too (for garden beat-
ing, only men may play the instruments). This
has to go on all the time while the big house
is being built. The reason is that the wood
(always spirit-ridden here) must be constantly
kept pacified and told that it is being used
for a great purpose, a big house. For ordinary
houses this is not necessary. (I wonder if the
idea is also in order to get the wood used to
being in a rumah gong-gendang?) Before the
trees are cut for the wood, they are told that
they are being cut for a high purpose. Each
grove of trees has a local spirit called darat.
These are tree spirits. The generic word for
spirit is ro.

778 I notice each day on my way here that there is
776 a grove of fine trees standing isolated on a
824

Wa.

778 high hill, which is otherwise bare, like most
776 of the land here. It is taboo, as special
824 darat dwell here. And now I see many such
sacred groves in the hills, carefully left
when the land was cleared. It is as though
they have to leave places here and there for
the darat whose trees have been largely cut
away. One has to watch out for feelings of the
spirits always. The assistant also uses the
word roro for spirits in general.

● 346 As the big timbers are carried in, the bear-
776 ers sing all the time, moving about slowly, and
533 telling the setan not to sit on the timber and
824 make it heavy. A small girl, elaborately
dressed, sits on the timber, showing the setan
that someone is already sitting there, so that
they won't. A flag is set on the timber (now
usually a merdeka, red and white flag) to show
the kampong folk from two to three kilometers
away that they are coming. In the kampong,
they begin to beat gongs and drums "to receive
the wood" into the kampong. They may not be
quiet as the wood enters. There is much sing-
ing, etc.

[335] While the carpenters are at work with modern
tools on the house, the gongs and drums are
beaten constantly (technology and adat). There
has been trouble here in Tjantjar with the tu-
kang from Ruteng. The timbers were already set
[578] when an argument started over the contract, etc.
Tempers rose, and the carpenters picked up their
tools and left for Ruteng. I saw them on the
road two days ago. Now the kampong folk are
worried stiff because there lies the wood and
there is the wood in the half-finished house,
and nothing is being done. The wood may get
impatient or angry, and if so they will always
have trouble with the house. And this is impor-
tant, as it is the main house, the cult house,
[753] of the kampong. Also, if the wood gets angry,
there will be illness and all sorts of troubles.

Was

346 there will be illness and all sorts of troubles.
824 They beat the gongs and drums to keep the wood
533 satisfied and I suppose to make it think that
776 the work is going on. Also, I notice that a
few men carry planks up now and then to the
rafters, perhaps making as though they were
carrying on the work. Meanwhile a delegation
is in Ruteng to persuade the carpenters to re-
turn. The situation is desperate, and perhaps
the folk regret having argued with the tukang
in the first place. They must "make the wood
cool," they say. This is dramatic.

I also noted that a pig was being skinned
in the shed nearby. This is for the workers,
but it had been ritually killed with prayers,
etc. The drum and gong rhythms constantly
changed, and the girls are really clever. This
[562] is beautiful stuff. There are beats which are
peculiar to men and women, and also some which
are used by both. These people are really
virtuosos. All day the women sit thus, doing
their duty by the wood spirit.

There is a main post in the rectangular
house too, and when it is set in, animals are
killed and blood is placed in the hole.

342 Until about ten years ago all houses here
178 were round. Today there are very few of the
346 old round houses left. Cornelius says there is
scarcely a single tuan tanah round house left,
because everyone must contribute to the cost of
a new one, and when they build one they want
one that will be a strong rectangular type so
that it will last for a long while. The cost of
this new type tuan tanah house is nearly fl.
[435] 3000.00 in addition to the free labor contribu-
ted. Each family contributes to the cost and
also gives animals for the workers, ceremonies,
etc. It is a big thing.

342 I went into one of the two round houses left
178 in Tjantjar. It is a bit different from the

1 [i.e., the assistant--Analyst]

We

000 and such is used in war.

621 Correction: When there is a big feast in the
574 central kampong, all members of the tjabang
171 kampongs must attend. However, if a big feast
is held at a tjabang kampong, it is a matter of
choice whether the other tjabang kampongs and
the pusat kampong attend. However, each must
send a delegation. (This is like the big feasts
in the Ambon pela kampongs. The pela radja and
saniri must go, and others may do so if they
want to.)

621 It is true that the pusat kampong has more
622 power in a way than the others. Its drums,
346 gongs, tjompong, main pillar of the tuan tanah
351 house, main garden (lingko randang), and the
788 tuan tanah besar himself are all part of this
power. All others stem from these. However,
the picture is not one of a clear hierarchy.
Nevertheless, if a man is very sick, for example,
they may decide that it is well to go to the
tjompong of the pusat kampong and go through
some ceremony. However, there is not a real
vivid ranking or constellation of rank.

The assistant says that the round house and
the round garden are definitely related. But
here again he is unclear. The house is linked
with the garden, and after the rites which are
held in the garden, they come back to the main
house. Also there is a saying: mbarun one
uman peang, i.e., "house has link with garden."
When a tuan tanah besar gives a drum and a gong
to a new branch kampong, he also gives it a
"big garden" (lingko randang). Here is where
the biggest rites are held. (Lingko means only
"round garden.") And when they have rites in
the garden, they go directly from the lodok
there to the main post in the tuan tanah house.
Thus, there seems to be a definite link between
the main post of the big house and the main
garden's lodok. There is the same parading

346
351
788

● Wa

346
351 around the main post as around the lodok (see
788 Coolhaas)!

443 There is no pasar system here. There are only pedlars who carry goods around. Markets are located only in the big towns: Ruteng, Reo, Labuan, Mborong, etc.

437 There is some barter, but most transactions are carried on using cash. Before the Dutch came in there was no money here and the people had to barter.

286
784 Note and very important: There is a taboo on weaving all over Manggarai, except in the north-east quarter. The assistant can mark the border of weaving precisely. The only exception is Todo and Pongkor, where there is no taboo and there is a bit of weaving. I asked if it is a taboo or just a lack of knowledge of how to weave. He said both, but that it is definitely a taboo. If they weave, the crops will fail, and illness will spread across the land. There have been a few attempts to introduce weaving, and the crops have proven to turn bad. It has nothing to do with the totem. He says it is not tjek'i at all, but merely ireng, which means taboo. This is a puzzler, and is amazing.

871 In 1912 three 3-grade schools were opened in Manggarai: in Ruteng, in Reo, and in Labuan. In 1924, a five-grade school was opened in Ruteng. There were about forty schools in all Manggarai before the war, but only one went as far as fifth grade (the one in Ruteng). This is what the Dutch did between 1924 and 1942! There are now about sixty schools in Manggarai. The school in Tjantjar opened in 1947. It serves nine kampongs: Tjantjar, Vool, Ndung, Rai, Puruk, Sampar, Nggarang, Meler, and Tjara. The farthest kampung is Sampar, which is three kilometers walk away.

There is a fourth grade here too, serving all of Rahong. The children come from far away.

^ [See bibliography, category 113. - Analyst]

W.

865 young, in regard to the propriety of their behavior.

● 346 As usual, the church at Tjantjar has no
778 windows. There is no rumah pemali here. The
tuan tanah house is the cult center. At each
feast all gather here, unless it is a smaller,
house or panga feast. The gongs and drums are
located here, and also the main post (and in
each house is a lesser main post) and the pusaka.
The last, however, does not consist of very
much--clothes, knives, etc., from the ancestors,
and heirlooms of the group.

778 The cult places are: (1) the tjompang with
614 the tree, and (2) the stones. Here it is the
769 Vatu Veol, in the form of a human male with
773 arms akimbo, but "someone" broke off the arms.
532 It is near the high hill where the original
kampong was located. It was placed there by an
ancestor named Padja (thus like the named
stones of Ngada). Padja is invited to the
feasts at the stone. If there is a war, cere-
monies are held there. Any kampong of the va'u
Veol may come there and use it. Thus it is a
va'u stone. Most kampongs have such a holy
stone. Vatu Runtu is the one in Ruteng kampong,
whence came the original ancestors of va'u
Runtu. Vatu Pau in kampong Pau is where the
original ancestors of va'u Pau came out. This
was about fifteen generations ago, he says,
and he is a member (this is thus quite recent,
and curious, but maybe these family trees get
foreshortened; or perhaps the period represents
a new immigration of "stone people"? It seems
to be about three hundred years ago or perhaps
a bit less). Vatu La'o is in the gelarang La'o
of dalu Rahong. He doesn't know the story about
it.

778 It is notable that outside of Rahong, as far
769 as he knows, there are no stone images. Indeed,
776 the only one I know of is the Vatu Veol. And
532